

## Message Text

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13-S  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 SCI-06 INT-08 SCEM-02 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

ACDA-19 IO-14 CIEP-02 COME-00 EB-11 OMB-01 TRSE-00

DRC-01 NEA-10 /151 W  
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O 090836Z NOV 73  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8057  
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T TOKYO 14664

FOR SECRETARY AND AMBASSADOR INGERSOLL

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: ENRG, PFOR, JA  
SUBJ: GOJ VULNERABILITIES TO ARAB PRESSURES

REF: TOKYO 14575

1. AS EMBASSY REPORTED IN REFTEL, GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN IS UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE TO TAKE ACTION THAT COULD ALLEVIATE IMPENDING OIL SUPPLY CRISIS. FONOFF, UNDER LEADERSHIP OF OHIRA AND VICE MINISTER HOGEN, HAS HELD LINE TO DATE AND HAS BEEN ABLE TO USE OCCASION YOUR VISIT TO OBTAIN INTERMINISTERIAL APPROVAL THAT JAPAN WILL TAKE NO DRASTIC PRO-ARAB MOVES UNTIL RESULTS OF PRIME MINISTER AND OHIRA'S CONVERSATIONS WITH YOU ARE CONSIDERED. GOJ INTERNAL DEBATE AT THIS POINT HAS FOCUSED ALMOST ENTIRELY ON WHAT POSTURE IT SHOULD TAKE DURING YOUR VISIT, AND IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT DECISION MAKING IS IN ABEYANCE IN HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO BRING WORD THAT "SOLUTION IS IN SIGHT."

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2. OUR BEST READING AND ANALYSIS OF SITUATION AT THIS POINT IS THAT IF JAPANESE ARE ASSURED AS RESULT YOUR VISIT THAT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IS TAKING PLACE TOWARD MID-EAST SETTLEMENT THAT PROMISES FULL RESUMPTION FOR OIL EXPORTS WITHIN REASONABLE TIME, FONOFF WOULD FOR SOME WEEKS BE ABLE TO HOLD BACK PRESSURES THAT HAVE BEEN PLACED ON IT. DURING THAT PERIOD, FONOFF WOULD PROBABLY ATTEMPT TO PLACATE CRITICS BY AGREEING TO SOME MODEST STEP SUCH AS SENDING OF HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL EMISSARY TO MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES WITH OFFERS OF SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

3. HOWEVER, IF AS WE MOVE TO EARLY 1974, PROSPECTS FOR RESUMPTION OF FULL FLOW OF OIL TO JAPAN ARE STILL SEEMINGLY DISTANT, AND AS JAPAN'S RESERVE STOCKS ARE DRAWN DOWN, WE BELIEVE JAPAN WILL FEEL ITSELF OBLIGED TO TAKE SOME DRASTIC ACTION SUCH AS PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ARAB POSITION PALESTINIAN TERRITORIAL ISSUE, ENCOURAGING JAPANESE FIRMS TO COOPERATE WITH ARAB LEAGUE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT, OR EVEN BREAK IN RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

4. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THERE IS (1) RELUCTANCE TO MOVE AGAINST ISRAEL; (2) OBVIOUS DESIRE AMONG JAPANESE TO AVOID HAVING TO CAPITULATE TO ARAB DEMANDS; AND (3) STRONG WISH TO AVOID ACTING UNILATERALLY (I.E. WITHOUT FULL CONSULTATION WITH US) AND TO TAKING ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT PREJUDICE US EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE LASTING SETTLEMENT IN MIDDLE EAST. DESPITE THESE FACTORS, HOWEVER, DOMESTIC PRESSURE FOR DRASTIC ACTION WOULD, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, PREVAIL IF END OF OIL SUPPLY SHORTAGES NOT IN SIGHT BY EARLY JANUARY, FOR FOLLOWING REASONS:

(A) NEARLY 20 PERCENT LOSS OF TOTAL OIL SUPPLIES WILL HAVE SERIOUS EFFECT ON LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND EMPLOYMENT;

(B) JAPAN'S SERIOUS INFLATION PROBLEM WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY WORSENERD BY SHORTAGES OF ESSENTIAL  
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PRODUCTS AS RESULT OF REDUCED SUPPLIES OF OIL;  
(C) WITH RECONVENING OF DIET AROUND DECEMBER 1, ABOUT TIME WHEN FULL FORCE OF PRESENT SHORTAGES BECOMES APPARENT TO PUBLIC, GOJ WILL FACE HEAVY CRITICISM FROM OPPOSITION FORCES FOR FAILURE TO ANTICIPATE DIFFICULTIES AND TAKE NECESSARY STEPS. LDP MUST APPEAR TO BE TAKING EFFECTIVE ACTION TO ALLEVIATE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF OIL SUPPLY SHORTAGE; AND

(D) LACK OF DRAMATIC PROGRAM OF ACTION WOULD CERTAINLY WEAKEN LDP AND PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF AS THEY CAMPAIGN FOR CLOSELY CONTESTED UPPER HOUSE ELECTIONS IN JUNE OR JULY, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED TO BE NEXT MAJOR TEST OF CONSERVATIVE MANDATE.

5. NEWS OF YOUR SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING SIX-POINT AGREEMENT ON CEASEFIRE AND POW EXCHANGE WILL BE HIGHLY APPRECIATED AND WILL BE OF MAJOR ASSISTANCE IN PERSUADING GOJ NOT TO TAKE ANY PRECIPITATE MOVES THAT COULD COMPLICATE YOUR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. OVER COMING WEEKS HOWEVER GOJ WILL HAVE TO REMAIN CONVINCED THAT PROGRESS CONTINUES TO BE MADE TOWARD A SOLUTION THAT WILL RESTORE THEIR OIL SUPPLIES, IF GOJ IS TO RESIST ENORMOUS PRESSURES TO SEEK ITS OWN ACCOMMODATION WITH ARABS.  
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